Grandmothers Against Genocide

Org. nr. 935 375 088 – Drammen, Norway

To the

National Authority for Prosecution of Organised and other Serious Crime - NAST

November 10, 2025

NEW EVIDENCE IN CASE NO. 16783364 241/25-26

CONCERNING THE CRIMINAL COMPLAINT AGAINST

Prime Minister Jonas Gahr Støre, Minister of Finance Jens Stoltenberg, Minister of Foreign Affairs Espen Barth Eide, former Minister of Finance Trygve Slagsvold Vedum

We hereby submit additional evidence of the above mentioned persons complicity in war crimes, crimes against humanity, and genocide.

The complicity concerns:

1. The Norwegian Pension Fund Global's (the Oil Fund) huge illegal investments in numerous companies that supply weapons and other military equipment to Israel's warfare
2. Norway's illegal cooperation with companies that assist Israel, producing weapons and weapon components that end up in Israel.

In the previous document, we amended the complaint by removing the final point – genocide. We now reintroduce it. On 16 September 2025, the UN concluded that what has happened and is happening in Gaza constitutes genocide.

We therefore specify that the criminal complaint against the four is for:

- Complicity in war crimes
- Complicity in crimes against humanity
- Complicity in the crime of genocide

The relevant laws and legal provisions are listed in the criminal complaint of 16 April 2025.

Criminal complicity applies to any crime Israel commits and has committed against the Palestinians and others, both before and after 7 October 2023.

On November 4 2025, the Norwegian Parliament - *the Storting* – decided to halt all withdrawals from the Oil Fund. The intent was to shield the large investments in high-tech companies that supply artificial intelligence, big-data and cloud solutions to Israel. The decision to halt any divestment from companies contributing to Israel's unlawful

warfare, including torture in Israeli prisons, is the ultimate proof of the Labour Party leadership's complicity in Israel's crimes, and of Vedum's continued complicity by voting in favour of the same. The fact that a majority in the Storting voted for this does not make the decision right or lawful. It means that the Norwegian Storting has voted for extensive violations of international law, at the Labour Party's prompting.

The complaint is not linked to what individual Israeli leaders have done or not done, and that is therefore not subject to evidentiary assessment. The complicity committed by the individuals reported consists of material, financial, political, and diplomatic support and encouragement to the State of Israel, and must be viewed in connection with the crimes committed by the State of Israel, both before and after 7 October 2023.

Updated as of the date of submission of this document: In most previous communiqués, the UN and its various departments and staff have used conditional formulations such as "may contribute to", "may risk", "is at risk of", "may be considered to", "may involve", etc. The same will apply when we quote these earlier statements.

However, these are not formulations that should create any doubt within the National Authority for Prosecution that Israel is committing international crimes, and that those who contribute to them are also guilty of complicity. Since the UN concluded on 16 September that Israel is committing genocide, the wording has correspondingly changed. They now state that those who provide weapons to Israel and support Israel's warfare economically and through political cover commit the crime of "aid, assist and abet". The UN now demands a complete break in all trade with Israel – not only with and from the occupied territories.

This final submission contains the following points of evidence regarding the Støre government's complicity in Israel's warfare: (shortcuts in text)

1. Report on the Oil Fund's investments in companies that violate international law
2. Francesca Albanese's letter to Jens Stoltenberg regarding the Oil Fund's investments
3. The Labour Party leadership knowingly maintains the illegal investments
4. The ultimate proof: Labour leads the country into a genocide economy
5. "Israel has the right to defend itself": Political cover for decades of crimes
6. Norway cooperates on weapons and weapon components that end up in Israel
7. The Labour Party leadership fails to introduce measures to support the establishment of the state of Palestine
8. A sad example of what Israel does, and what we fill the state treasury with
9. Israel's crimes against the Palestinians continue unhindered

And additionally:

10. Reasons for prosecuting international crimes
11. Calls for the prosecution of individuals for complicity in genocide
12. Concluding remarks
13. A final appeal

1. Report on the Oil Fund's investments in companies that violate international law

As an annex to the complaint of 16 April, we provided an overview of weapon companies in which the Oil Fund is invested (Annex 9), which contribute to Israel's warfare in Gaza and to the military occupation of the West Bank. We have focused only on companies that directly contribute to this. They constitute evidence of the Oil Fund's violations of international law.

The overview of the weapon companies received significant attention on social media, leading to the grassroots initiative *Our Ethical Oil Fund*. It was decided to send an updated overview as a report to the Minister of Finance. The report was signed by 277 civilians from across the country: authors, writers, actors, artists, performers, a large group of clergy, and many members of the #MyOilFund campaign. The report, dated 31 August, was sent to Finance Minister Jens Stoltenberg on 1 September, with copies to the Ministry of Finance, the Prime Minister's Office, Norges Bank, the Oil Fund and the Fund's Council on Ethics, as well as the Storting's Control Committee.

The updated report (Annex 9) includes an overview of 20 non-Israeli companies and what military equipment they produce for Israel. It also includes the monetary value of the Oil Fund's investments in these companies at the turn of the year and on 30 June this year, which now amount to 21 billion dollars. Annex 9 is the central piece of evidence showing how deeply and willfully the Oil Fund is invested in companies that violate international law. It replaces the previous Annex 8 of April 16, 2025.

The report we sent to Minister of Finance Jens Stoltenberg was answered by the Director General of the Ministry of Finance.

The reply from one of the Ministry of Finance's highest-ranking civil servants allows us to assume that the Minister of Finance is also aware of the 20 weapons companies we reported on.

2. Francesca Albanese's letter to Jens Stoltenberg regarding the Oil Fund's investments

The UN Special Rapporteur for the Occupied Palestinian Territories, Francesca Albanese, wrote to Minister of Finance Jens Stoltenberg on 30 April 2025. She demanded an explanation of what the Minister would do to bring Norwegian policy into compliance with requirements set out in laws, conventions, and the ICJ's recommendations. In her letter, she gives a clear description of the Oil Fund's enormous support for Israel:

"The Fund is a major European source of investment for Israel's ongoing occupation. According to an independent report, the Fund is, by itself, the largest European investor in 58 companies identified as involved in Israel's occupation, accounting for 10% of the total European contribution to companies complicit in Israel's unlawful endeavour."

And she mentions several of the Fund's investments in concrete terms:

«Additionally, the Fund is also one of the leading European investors in a number of weapons manufacturers, for which we have reasonable grounds to believe they are supplying Israel with the necessary weapons, spare parts and components, to equip its military. This includes, as of 31 December 2024, investments in the following companies, which the UN had also put on notice of possible violations in May 2024:

Leonardo SpA, RTX Corp, Rolls-Royce Holdings PLC, ThyssenKrupp , Oshkosh Corp, Rheinmetall AG

In addition to the companies that supply military equipment to Israel, she also notes that the Oil Fund is heavily invested in companies that insure and finance the weapons manufacturers:

"The Fund also invests in insurance companies that have been involved in financing and underwriting the defence industry and their connections to the ongoing violence in Palestine. Records from 2024 show investments for more than 132 million USD in Allianz SE, AXA SA, Aviva PLC, and Zurich Insurance Group AG. These are not only the largest insurance investors in weapons manufacturers, but at least two also provide insurance underwriting to Elbit Systems, Caterpillar, General Dynamics and Honeywell; all companies also listed in the UN in May 2024."

The financing and insurance companies Albanese names appear in Norges Bank's database as follows, updated 30 June 2025:

Allianz SE: 2,5 billion dollars, AXA SA: 3 billion dollars, Aviva PLC: 387 million dollars, Zurich Insurance Group AG: 700 million dollars

She writes that the companies she mentions constitute only a small part of the total number of companies the Oil Fund is invested in that support Israel's warfare:

"The gravity, scale and quantity of the crimes and violations of human rights that are taking place in the occupied Palestinian territory implicates companies well beyond those outlined above. However, these are the key elements to provide a snapshot of egregious investments in which the Fund is critically involved."

Albanese makes clear that **no one can do business in the occupied territories without violating international law**:

"Accordingly, no company can do business in the oPt without violating international law. This goes beyond simply being involved with Israeli settlements – any commercial activity that renders aid or assists Israeli forces, settlements, companies in perpetuating their unlawful presence in the OPT is illegal under international law and must be sanctioned."

She emphasises that no investments are exempt, regardless of type:

"This is confirmed by the ICJ Advisory Opinion, which expressly states that any investment, of any sort, with Israel's unlawful presence – military, surveillance, civilian activity, material or immaterial, tangible or intangible resources, including border or airspace – is unlawful as it violates Palestinian self-determination (paragraph 243)."

And she refers to the ICJ's clear statement that:

"More importantly, to knowingly assist, aid or abet the illegal Israeli settlements in the Occupied Palestinian Territory through trade or investment may constitute war crimes".

Her letter demonstrates a deep understanding of the Norwegian Oil Fund, and she leaves no doubt that the Norwegian investments clearly violate international law. We therefore consider her entire letter to be evidence in the case against Jens Stoltenberg and the Labour Party leadership.

Albanese set a response deadline of 30 May. Two weeks earlier, Jonas Gahr Støre stated in the Storting (14 May) that the government would not withdraw the Fund from companies in the West Bank in general, and that we had the world's most ethical fund. Støre said (response to a question from the Green Party to Støre):

"What is happening in Gaza now must be condemned in the strongest possible terms. It constitutes violations of international law and violations of humanitarian law. The images we are receiving from Gaza are horrifying. Several hundred thousand people may face starvation as we approach autumn. This is deeply concerning, and something Norway must do everything we can to help address. (.) But I believe that we have a pension fund with the world's most comprehensive ethical guidelines. The Council on Ethics reviews whether the investments contribute to or are complicit in violations of international law. And if the answer is yes, then the fund withdraws. (.) And that policy should be followed and practiced consistently."

But he thus concluded that the Fund should not withdraw from companies in the West Bank.

Albanese then sent a new letter to Stoltenberg on 20 May, referencing Støre's remarks in the Storting, expressing deep concern about his statement. She writes:

"The first and most concerning finding is that Norway's Government Pension Fund Global (GPFG) holds $121.5 billion - 6.9% of its total value - in companies identified in my report as involved in supporting or enabling egregious violations of international law in the occupied Palestinian territory.
Second, while I understand that the Government is not considering a full withdrawal from Israeli companies operating in the West Bank as a whole—as stated by Prime Minister Jonas Gahr Støre on 14 May 2025 - I need to draw your attention to the structural entanglement of Israeli corporations - including those in the agrobusiness, tourism and water and other natural resource management - in the machinery of the occupation both in the West Bank, including east Jerusalem, and the Gaza Strip, and the violence that sustains it. International corporations benefiting from GPFG investments are critical components of the infrastructure sustaining the economy of the occupation."

Stoltenberg's response is evidence of aiding, assisting and abetting.

Jens Stoltenberg responded to Albanese on 30 May, stating that the Oil Fund was not invested in any companies that violated international law. 4.6.1:

"(...) according to the information available to the Council on Ethics last year; there were no companies in the Fund with ongoing deliveries of relevant types of weapons to Israel."

Does Stoltenberg mean by this that the weapon companies Albanese names are not relevant? The UN has defined these companies as contributing to Israel's warfare, and Stoltenberg is in no position to dismiss the UN's assessment of what constitutes a violation of international law. In his reply he does not mention the companies she names as financing the weapons manufacturers.

If he was not aware of any of this at the time he received her letter, his response should have been that the Fund would now withdraw from all those she names.

Stoltenberg's reply consists of 17 pages praising how ethical the Oil Fund is, and stating that there is nothing to withdraw from. It is evidence of the Labour Party leadership's complicity in violations of international law and of their insistence on continuing such violations - with intent.

3. The Labour Party leadership knowingly maintains the illegal investments

After 4 August – Lies and broken promises again

Before 4 August, Jens Stoltenberg claimed that the Oil Fund was not invested in any companies that violated international law. This was despite enormous pressure, accompanied by information, from all leading organisations: Norwegian People's Aid, the Norwegian Refugee Council, Human Rights Watch, Amnesty International, Save the Children. At one point, 50 organisations sent a request to Stoltenberg that the Oil Fund withdraw from companies that contributed to Israel's warfare in Gaza and the military occupation of Palestine. Everything bounced off, and received the same answer.

Also before the vote in the Storting on 4 June concerning the Oil Fund, Stoltenberg maintained that none of the fund's investments violated the fund's ethical guidelines or broke international law in any way. On his recommendation, a majority in the Storting decided that all the fund's investments should be maintained without any changes.

Everything changed on 4 August.

On 4 August, the major and most influential Norwegian newspaper, Aftenposten, revealed that the Oil Fund was invested in an Israeli company that contributed to the warfare in Gaza. With that, it became clear that we were illegally invested in such companies, and a strong media pressure arose against the Minister of Finance. Throughout the yearly media happening *The Arendal Week* the following week, Stoltenberg met press conferences filled wall-to-wall with Norwegian and foreign press, asking critical questions. It was no longer possible to use the mantra: "we are not invested in any…".

Stoltenberg now had a new tune: that Norway should not be invested in any companies that violated international law. Therefore, he had ordered a new review from the Fund.

More such companies could emerge, and if they did, the Oil Fund would withdraw from them, Stoltenberg said.

To the newspaper Dagbladet, he said he understood that people questioned whether the Fund's ethical rules had been followed, and assured:

"The Oil Fund shall not be invested in companies that contribute to violations of international law, and that also applies to companies that contribute to the illegal warfare in Gaza and the illegal occupation of the West Bank (...). What is happening in Gaza now is horrific, and it is important that the guidelines that are designed to ensure that we do not contribute to such violations of international law are enforced as they should be."

And with those words he lied again, to the entire nation, in front of open cameras.

In the following weeks, the Oil Fund withdrew from a few Israeli companies. But as soon as the media lost focus, the withdrawals ceased. The willingness to follow up, to divest in accordance with obligations under international law, was not present. The final confirmation came after the election.

The Social Left Party's (SV) ultimatum and Labour's steadfastness

On 20 August, about three weeks before the election, SV announced that they would issue an ultimatum to the Labour Party: Withdraw Norway from companies that contribute to Israel's violations of international law, or the party would not support Labour in the budget negotiations. Aftenposten published the story and mentioned 22 companies from which SV demanded divestment. Six of these are the same as in Albanese's list of arms companies described above:

Caterpillar, Oshkosh, Rolls Royce, Rheinmetall, RTX and ThyssenKrupp.

On 25 August, the fund withdrew from Caterpillar. It appeared that the government was taking the matter seriously. Everything pointed in the same direction: the UN's calls, the dramatically worsening famine catastrophe in Gaza, public opinion, the election. Many considered the election a "Gaza election". The right-wing parties had, in NRK's debate-show answered that they would not do anything to influence Israel to end its warfare. The election result showed that the Labour Party was 0.3% away from losing, so the promises from Stoltenberg that they would withdraw from all companies that contributed to Israel's warfare may have been decisive. Alternatively, it may have been SV's ultimatum that made the left wing win, and that Labour thus came out victorious.

After the election, however, the Labour Party made a 180-degree turnaround. None of the promises from the election campaign regarding withdrawal from companies violating international law in Gaza were followed up.

SV has recently backed down from its ultimatum. They have faced strong criticism for this, but responded by sending out an explanation of why they reversed their position: the Labour Party refused to withdraw the Oil Fund from any of the companies SV highlighted. This is quoted from the message the party published:

"SV has long demanded that the Oil Fund withdraw from companies that contribute to Israel's violations of international law and occupation, but has experienced that the

Labour Party does not take the responsibility seriously. Weeks passed, and Labour showed no willingness to meet this demand."

SV's ultimatum and Labour's rejection of it is evidence that the Labour leadership knows what they are invested in, and refuses to divest from any of the companies that support Israel's violations of international law.

4. The ultimate proof: Labour leads the country into a genocide economy

After the election victory, it became clear that Stoltenberg and the Labour Party wanted to raise the threshold for excluding companies. He presented his new plan to the Storting on 22 October and said among other things:

"It is meaningless that we cannot invest in the company from which we buy frigates."

The company in question, BAE, produces nuclear weapons, and therefore the Oil Fund sold its shares in BAE some years ago, in accordance with the Storting's rules that Norway shall not invest in nuclear weapons manufacturers. Stoltenberg shows with the statement that Labour has adopted the policy of the right-wing Conservatives and the Progress Party: they have long wanted to change the Oil Fund's ethical guidelines and open for Norway to invest in all weapons companies—regardless of whether they contribute to violations of international law. The Conservatives have stated in their programme that they want to invest in companies the fund is currently excluded from.

In the briefing to the Storting, Stoltenberg further explained which companies the government will not withdraw from:

"Large tech companies that supply software, cloud solutions, artificial intelligence to the Israeli defence forces. If we are to withdraw from all of them, that would fundamentally change the character of the fund".

It would change its character from a fund that finances genocide to a more ethical fund.

The big data companies Stoltenberg refers to have been defined by the UN as the deadliest of all. They carry out the crimes—not just contribute to them. They assist Israel in targeting objectives in Gaza, such as ambulances, health workers, cancer wards in hospitals, journalists—by the hundreds. They carry out control and surveillance of all Palestinians in the West Bank and East Jerusalem. They contribute high-tech solutions to the prison system, where the worst torture is carried out, and thus participate directly in Israel's systematic torture, which thousands of Palestinian prisoners are subjected to. They supply the technology and training in the armed drones that have killed thousands of Palestinians. They commit crimes against humanity as the law defines: acts carried out in a ***widespread or systematic attack on a civilian population***.

Stoltenberg said that if the fund were to withdraw from these, it would no longer be a *broad index fund*—a somewhat unfamiliar concept for many. But in the choice between a fund with ethical rules, and a fund that contributes to genocide for maximum return, he chooses the latter.

Press coverage of the enormous contribution of high-tech companies to Israel's warfare shows a disturbing picture.

Michael Kwet of Yale Law School, postdoctoral researcher at the University of Johannesburg and author of *"Digital colonialism: US empire and the new imperialism in the Global South"* describes in an article how high-tech assists Israel's warfare, which has led this war to be called the AI war; most of it happens with the help of cloud services provided to Israel by high-tech companies:

"To execute this shocking level of destruction, the Israeli military has been assisted by artificial intelligence (AI) programs designed to produce targets with little human oversight.

Google, along with Amazon, provide Israel with the capacity to store, process and analyse data, including facial recognition, emotion recognition, biometrics and demographic information in what is known as *Project Nimbus."*

The author writes that the Nimbus project was met with strong protest from employees at Google and Amazon, which led the companies to sign a new contract with Israel:

"Google and Amazon signed a contract with Israel guaranteeing the continuation of services in the event of a boycott campaign. To date, they have held firm and continue to supply Israel with cloud computing services.

These concerns were amplified by reports that the Israeli army is using a new AI-powered system, such as 'Lavender' and 'The Gospel' to decide on targets for its bombardment of Gaza. According to one former Israeli intelligence official, The Gospel facilitates a 'mass assassination factory' where 'emphasis is on quantity, not quality'.

Meanwhile, recent reports have revealed that Google is working directly with the Israeli Ministry of Defense, despite the ongoing genocide. The company also allows Israeli forces to use its Google Photos facial recognition service to scan the faces of Palestinians across Gaza for its dystopian 'hit list'."

The author also comments on the legal side of the matter. He believes a day of reckoning will come for both the high-tech giants and for the leading politicians who contribute to the genocide:

"But just as the US and other Western governments are feeling the heat of legal action taken against them for the role they are playing in the genocide in Gaza, so are Western companies. US tech giants bear clear responsibility for what is happening in Palestine. They are on the wrong side of history, just as they were in apartheid South Africa. With enough popular pressure, Big Tech collaborators will find their day in court soon."

UN report: "From economy of occupation – to economy of genocide"

Francesca Albanese presented her report «From economy of occupation to economy of genocide» to the UN Human Rights Council on 17 July 2025.

On the involvement of high-tech companies in the genocide, Albanese describes the extent of the companies' contribution to Israel's high-tech warfare:

"36: Fuelled by US-tech giants establishing subsidiaries and research and development centres in Israel, Israel's claims of security needs have ***spurred unparalleled developments in carceral and surveillance services****, from CCTV networks, biometric surveillance, high-tech checkpoints networks, 'smart walls' and drone surveillance, to cloud computing, artificial intelligence and data analytics supporting on-the-ground military personnel."*

In the chapter on high-tech, she mentions a number of companies, including the following excerpts (Oil Fund investments in bold- June 2025 and December 2025):

"38. Since 2019, IBM Israel has operated and upgraded the central database of the Population, Immigration and Borders Authority (PIBA), enabling collection, storage and governmental use of biometric data on Palestinians, and supporting Israel's discriminatory permit regime."

IBM International: 84 million dollars / 87 millions

"38. Hewlett Packard has long enabled Israel's apartheid systems, supplying technology to COGAT, the prison service and police. Since HP's 2015 split into HPE and HP Inc., opaque business structures have obscured the roles of their seven remaining Israeli subsidiaries."

Hewlett Packard: 104 million dollars / 124 million

"39. Microsoft has been active in Israel since 1991, developing its largest centre outside the US. Its technologies are embedded in the prison service, police, universities and schools – including in colonies. Since 2003, Microsoft has integrated its systems and civilian tech across the Israeli military, while acquiring Israeli cybersecurity and surveillance start-ups."

"41. Microsoft, Alphabet and Amazon grant Israel virtually government-wide access to their cloud and AI technologies, enhancing data processing, decision-making and surveillance/analysis capacities. In July 2024, an Israeli colonel described cloud tech as 'a weapon in every sense of the word', citing these companies."

Investments as of June 2025 and December 2025:

Microsoft: 49 billion dollars / 45, Alphabet (Google: Nimbus) 26 billion dollars/43,5, Amazon: 27 billion dollars / 30,5

"42. Palantir Technology Inc., whose tech collaboration with Israel long predates October 2023, expanded its support to the Israeli military post-October 2023. In April 2025, Palantir's CEO responded to accusations that Palantir had killed Palestinians in Gaza by saying: 'mostly terrorists, that's true'."

Palantir: 3,5 billion dollars / 5,1 billion

Other reliable sources have also described the contribution of AI companies to Israel in electronic warfare, such as the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC). They highlight Nvidia, the world's largest producer of artificial intelligence:

"The Israeli military uses multiple Nvidia products. Several purchases of Nvidia products were disclosed by the Israeli Ministry of Defense during Israel's 2023–2025 Gaza genocide.

In 2023, Nvidia launched Israel-1, one of the world's most powerful supercomputers, in partnership with Dell."

Dell Technologies: 520 million dollars / 496 million

Oil Fund in NVIDIA Corp: 51 billion dollars / 56,8 billion

Vote on Norway as a genocide economy

Stoltenberg presented an urgent proposal to the Storting on Tuesday 3 November, suggesting a halt to all withdrawals from the Oil Fund. The vote was to be held the very next day. Labour's proposal was adopted in the Storting on 4 November, with votes from the Conservatives, the Progress Party, the Centre Party and the Christian Democrats. They have thereby established a genocide economy in Norway.

SV's proposal to withdraw the Oil Fund from violations of international law was also up for a vote, as reported in the news:

"As expected, the proposal from SV to withdraw the Oil Fund from companies that the UN has identified as contributing to grave violations of human rights or international law was defeated. 15 representatives voted in favour, while 87 voted against."

The decision the Storting made on the basis of Labour's proposal cannot simply be dismissed as ordinary politics. A majority of voters supported left-wing parties that have had a clear policy of not contributing to violations of international law and genocide. They voted for a Labour Party that had promised to withdraw the fund from companies that broke international law. The decision reveals a deceitful betrayal by the Labour leadership that ties them directly to Israel's crimes.

The world's largest arms companies, together with the giant tech companies, constitute an overwhelming war industry that has crushed tiny Gaza to rubble. And it is in the process of destroying the West Bank. The Norwegian politicians who support this boundless slaughter - for profit or for support of Israel or the USA or land promises in the Bible - regardless of their motive, are lawbreakers. They conduct illegal activity disguised as politics.

We are considering reporting political leaders in the Conservatives, the Progress Party and the Christian Democrats for leading Norway into a genocide economy together with the Labour Party. Each of them is "aiding, assisting and abetting" genocide. In this report it is further evidence of the Labour leaders' complicity in Israel's crimes. Former Minister of Finance Trygve Slagsvold Vedum is one of those reported. As parliamentary leader for the Centre Party, the party's vote confirms his continued active support for Israel's crimes.

5. "Israel has the right to defend itself": Political cover for decades of crimes

Francesca Albanese, in her latest report to the UN General Assembly on 20 October, *"Gaza Genocide, a collective crime",* has concluded that Western leaders' mantra "Israel

has the right to defend itself" is in violation of UN Charter article 51, which defines states' right to self-defence.

"20. Western States helped to justify the genocide against Palestinians. On 9 October 2023, immediately after Israel announced a tightened siege on Gaza, key Western leaders expressed support for the 'self-defence' of Israel – unwarranted under article 51 of the UN Charter.»

She presented her report to the UN General Assembly via video link. This is because she is subject to sanctions by the United States and denied entry to UN meetings in New York. There she said that the words "Israel is acting in self-defence" legitimise the genocide:

"The horrors (of Palestine) are the culmination of decades of moral and political failure, within a resilient colonial world order, sustained by a global system of complicity.

Through unlawful actions and deliberate omissions, too many states have harmed, funded, and shielded Israel's militarized apartheid, allowing its settler colonial enterprise to metastasize into genocide, the ultimate crime against the indigenous people of Palestine. Diplomacy (-) have been used ***to justify and advance this genocide and legitimize Israel's false claim to be acting in self-defence."***

The words, used by Western leaders, have given Israel carte blanche to do whatever it wants to the Palestinians. The President of the European Commission, Ursula von der Leyen's words "Israel has a right to defend itself" immediately after October 7, were understood by everyone – including Israel – to mean that Europe would support whatever Israel chose to do as retaliation against Gaza. In addition to full diplomatic cover, countries followed up with weapons shipments. Most of us still do.

Francesca Albanese rejects that Israel's warfare in Gaza is self-defence. And she says that such political support is criminal, writes The EU Observer:

"The International Court of Justice had already ruled — before October 7 — that Israel has no right to wage war on a territory it illegally occupies. So no, this is not self-defence."

Which, Albanese says, also means that EU officials such as Ursula von der Leyen and the foreign affairs chief, Kaja Kallas, are complicit since EU relations with Israel continue as usual.

"I call for these top EU officials, and others, to face charges of complicity of war crimes over their support for Israel's 19 month of assault on Gaza. This cannot be met with impunity."

A complaint against von der Leyen for complicity in war crimes was filed at the ICC by the Geneva International Peace Research Institute (GIPRI) in May.

The UN has defined the statement as false and an unlawful diplomatic support to Israel, because an occupying power does not have a right to defend itself by attacking a territory it illegally occupies. It supports Israel's occupation by using resistance to the occupation as an excuse to maintain it. It offers diplomatic cover for the fact that Israel carries out an illegal, brutal military occupation that it can end at any time.

The Labour Party's unconditional support for Israel goes back to before 1967. It began with Labour strongman Haakon Lie's personal friendship with Israel's first Prime Minister, David Ben Gurion. Haakon Lie was on the Israeli side during the Six-Day War in 1967 when Israel attacked Palestine, which ended with the occupation of all of Palestine. Since then, the Labour Party has repeatedly stated that "Israel has the right to defend itself".

The long-standing support for Israel was reiterated by Jonas Gahr Støre during the Arendal Week this year, when he declared "I am a friend of Israel." The famine catastrophe in Gaza was at that point already a fact.

Labour Party leaders have asserted Israel's right to self-defence even when Israel has committed extensive war crimes, such as during the war on Gaza in 2008–2009, and again in the wars in 2012, 2014, 2018 and 2021. These wars of aggression were far beyond anything resembling self-defence, and the words serve as political cover and justification for extensive and ongoing war crimes.

Labour leadership's support for Israel's warfare against Gaza 2008–2009

Israel shocked the whole world with its bombing campaign against Gaza that began during Christmas 2008 and lasted until 18 January 2009. After the ceasefire, the UN appointed a commission to investigate Israel's war crimes. 1,400 Palestinians were killed in the three weeks, and many thousands wounded, while 13 Israelis were killed. Ninety thousand Palestinians had their homes bombed to rubble. Israel bombed homes, schools, hospitals, universities, public buildings, water supplies, power stations, agriculture, bakeries, mosques, and churches. In 2008 Israel set the pattern for all later military actions.

Norway supported the establishment of the UN's investigation commission in 2009. The UN appointed an exceptionally competent and unassailable person to lead the investigation. Richard Goldstone was South African and Jewish. He had been the chief prosecutor in the tribunals after the genocides in Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia. Norway supported the work and the findings the commission reached along the way. Much was already known before the report was to be presented to the UN Human Rights Council, where it would be debated and voted on.

In April 2009 a group of Norwegian lawyers filed a criminal complaint against Israeli political and military leaders to the Norwegian National Authority of Prosecution - NAST. The lawyers accused those responsible for the attacks on Gaza of war crimes and gross violations of international humanitarian law: killings of civilians, massive destruction of property, deliberate attacks on health institutions, massive attacks directed at the population, and illegal use of weapons against civilian targets.

The Goldstone Report was to be presented on 16 October, 2009. The day before, on October 15, Israel's Defence Minister Ehud Barak made a phonecall to Norway's then Foreign Minister Jonas Gahr Støre. Barak was among those whom the Norwegian lawyers had reported for war crimes. Barak wanted Norway's support to reject or vote against the report in the Human Rights Council.

The next day, Norway withdrew its declared support for the report and instead abstained from voting. It took only one phone call from the Israeli Defence Minister — one of those who had ordered the devastating bombing campaign against a defenceless civilian population. 250 children were killed in the bombing during the three weeks, and many more were injured for life. Every single bomb was a war crime. And Gahr Støre appeared on TV and said that "Israel has the right to defend itself."

The Goldstone Report clearly established that Israel had committed war crimes, and it was adopted by a large majority in the Human Rights Council. The fact that Støre rejected the findings by having Norway abstain from voting, and excused Israel by referring to the right to self-defence, amounts to political cover and support for Israel's war crimes.

It is certainly a coincidence that the Norwegian lawyers' complaint was dismissed on 6 November 2009, three weeks after Støre's phone conversation with Barak, who was among the accused. The complaint was dismissed without investigation, and then–chief public prosecutor Siri S. Frigaard gave the reason that it was not worth spending resources on.

Jonas Gahr Støre, Jens Stoltenberg and Espen Barth Eide have wholeheartedly supported Israel throughout all the years they have been leading politicians.

Barth Eide has had a lower profile in the past two years, but through his passivity towards the other two, he is just as complicit as they are. His duty should have been to protest what they were doing — or resign from his ministerial position.

They have never said that the Palestinians have a right to defend themselves — which they actually do.

6. Norway cooperates on weapons and weapon components that end up in Israel

The history of Norway's weapons production supporting Israel is long, but it is like a broken record repeating itself over and over: Norway is a proud producer of weapon components that equip the bombs Israel drops over the civilian population in Gaza.

We will mention only one example: the Norwegian company Nammo's cooperation with the world's second-largest weapons company, RTX, and its subsidiary Raytheon, which produces bombs and missiles.

In the report on the 20 companies – Appendix 9 – we have described Raytheon, which produces the Sidewinder bomb and the AMRAAM missile. Nammo produces the rocket motor for these.

RTX tops the UN's lists of companies from which investments must be withdrawn. American Airforce Technology, however, praises Nammo's participation in rocket production:

"The expanded facility, slated to open its doors in 2027, is poised to provide the US with rocket motor production. With Nammo's track record of delivering more than 35,000

rocket motors for programmes such as Sidewinder, coupled with Raytheon, the joint venture hopes to further elevate America's self-reliance in defence manufacturing."

In the article, they quote Nammo's proud CEO, Morten Brandtzæg:

"We are proud to build upon our established solid rocket motor capabilities in Norway for expansion into the US, with the strong commitment from Raytheon as a merchant supplier," emphasised Morten Brandtzaeg, president and CEO of Nammo."

This makes Brandtzaeg complicit in war crimes as well, and we remind that the most serious international crimes are **matters of public prosecution**. And he is well paid: the business newspaper Dagens Naeringsliv wrote in July 2025 that Brandtzaeg received 1.1. million dollars in salary last year.

The UN High Commissioner for Human Rights wrote on June 20 last year that continuing to supply Israel with weapons, directly or through intermediary countries, would be considered informed support for military operations:

"In this context, continuing arms transfers to Israel may be seen as knowingly providing assistance for operations that contravene international human rights and international humanitarian laws and may result in profit from such assistance. An end to transfers must include indirect transfers through intermediary countries that could ultimately be used by Israeli forces."

Raytheon's AIM-9 Sidewinder missile, which is mentioned in the article above, is included in the report we sent to the Minister of Finance. Here, we can only add an explanation of the name and properties, taken from Wikipedia:

"AIM-9 Sidewinder is a short-range air-to-air missile used by fighter aircraft and combat helicopters. It is named after the venomous rattlesnake, which hunts warm-blooded prey using infrared sensory organs."

Unlike rattlesnakes, Israel hunts warm-blooded civilians, more than fifty percent of them children. The Sidewinder missile is also equipped with target-seeking sensory organs, which easily locate their prey.

We have also mentioned the AIM-120 AMRAAM missile, for which Nammo also supplies the rocket motor.

While the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights has demanded that the Oil Fund and others divest from RTX, the newspaper Aftenposten has documented that the Oil Fund has ***increased*** its investment in RTX significantly over the last six months.

Oil Fund investment in RTX Corp 31.12.2024: 1,9 billion dollars

Oil Fund investment in RTX Corp 30.06.2025: 2,3 billion dollars

The Oil Fund increased its ownership in RTX from 1.11% to 1.19% from January to June.

From June 30 to 31 December 2025, the Oil Fund har increased its ownership further:

Ownership: 1,24%. Investment: 3,05 billion dollars

The government's only correct response to Israel's warfare and the UN's requests should have been to ban the sale of weapon components to companies that supply weapons to Israel. And they should have banned any cooperation between Norwegian-owned companies and UN-defined war criminals.

If the National Criminal Investigation Service, Kripos, or the National Authority for Prosecution for Organised and Other Serious Crime, NAST, for resource reasons need to limit their investigations, they can focus on just one company:

The Norwegian RTX connection will prove that our complicit top politicians are contributing to Israel's crimes both through illegal arms deliveries and through illegal investments.

7. The Labour Party leadership fails to introduce measures to support the establishment of the state of Palestine

A comparison: What other countries' politicians do, that ours do not

Norway recognized Palestine as an independent state on May 28 last year, the same day as Spain and Ireland. After that, Norway has not followed up with any measures against Israel to end the occupation – which is absolutely essential for a Palestinian state to become a reality.

Gahr Støre has often justified the absence of measures by saying that Norway does not want to introduce measures alone. And that measures introduced only by Norway would have no effect – they must be done together with other states.

To the Storting on 14 May 2025 he said (video reording from the Storting):

"Norway does not have the habit or legislation to take the lead with unilateral Norwegian sanctions."

This is obfuscation that conceals a lack of will to introduce measures. Spain and Ireland have, after the recognition last year, followed up with significant measures and decisions against Israel. Here Norway had an excellent opportunity to coordinate measures with other leading countries.

That Spain and Ireland have followed up with practical pressure instruments, and Norway has done nothing, and declares that it will do nothing, is such a stark contrast that it again proves support for Israel's crimes. The Labour Party has gone in the exact opposite direction on November 4 and made it *forbidden* to implement measures.

SPAIN

The Spanish parliament decided on October 8 2025 on a total weapons ban against Israel. They have also introduced a trade ban from occupied areas:

"The third pillar of the decree law is a ban on the import of products originating from illegal Israeli settlements in occupied Palestinian territory. Advertising for goods originating from these settlements and services provided there is also prohibited."

Spain's judiciary has also followed up. On October 24, the country's Supreme Court opened an investigation into the top leaders of one of the country's steelworks. They are being investigated for crimes against humanity and for genocide for having supplied materials to Israel.

IRELAND

The Irish parliament is in the process of adopting a law that bans trade with occupied areas in Palestine. The Irish Foreign Affairs Committee justifies it with the country's obligations after the ICJ's advisory opinion of 19 June 2024:

"Member States are under an obligation…to ***abstain from entering into economic or trade dealings with Israel*** *concerning the Occupied Palestinian Territory or parts thereof which may entrench its unlawful presence in the territory… and to take steps to prevent trade or investment relations that assist in the maintenance of the illegal situation created by Israel in the Occupied Palestinian Territory."*

Ireland's Supreme Court has also followed up:

An Irish human rights organisation has filed a criminal complaint against top leaders in Airbnb for complicity in war crimes through extensive commercial activity in the illegal settlements in the West Bank. The newspaper *The Journal* quotes the law firm representing the complainants:

"GLAN has argued that because Airbnb operates in illegally occupied territory, it is associated with the war crimes and crimes against humanity involved in establishing and maintaining the Israeli settlements."

The Irish police authority responsible for international crime refused to investigate, arguing that no crime had occurred in Ireland. The decision was appealed to the Supreme Court. On October 16 2025, the complainants succeeded in having the dismissal overturned, and the case was sent back to the police.

The law firm has also reported Airbnb's top executives ***for money laundering***, defined as any collection of money earned through criminal acts. This puts the Oil Fund's investments in a completely new light. We therefore ask the NAST to consider whether the National Authority for Economic Crime should also have looked into the case: Are the Oil Fund's profits from illegal investments in war criminals a laundering of profits from crime – also from a Norwegian perspective?

Spain and Ireland demonstrate, through action, that they support an independent Palestinian state. The Labour leadership does the opposite. At a historic moment when Israel is committing the worst possible crimes, the Labour Party has taken the lead with a unilateral measure in the opposite direction: They have signalled to the whole world that their support for Israel's warfare is unconditional. Combined with the gigantic lies they have presented, to the UN, to the people, on TV and to the Storting, about the ethical guidelines and the associated divestments, this testifies to a criminal intent from Jonas Gahr Støre and Jens Stoltenberg.

8. A sad example of what Israel does, and what we fill the state treasury with

Israel destroyed a primary school in the West Bank, and Norway became a little richer

The video of Israeli soldiers ordering small children out of their school in the tiny village of Masafer Yatta in the West Bank, because the occupying power is about to demolish it, is going viral around the world.

What is missing from the viral story is how much the Norwegian state earns from this school demolition. But that is how it is: almost every time Israel does something new and utterly horrific to the Palestinians, and a company name appears in the frame, you just type the name into Norges Bank's database, and up it pops – the Oil Fund's investments in the company.

The Norwegian Refugee Council has long fought against Israel's destruction of rural communities in this area. On 23 October 2025, they described the demolition of homes and schools in Masafer Yatta in detail. Secretary General Jan Egeland reports that the abuses against the West Bank have become more intense after the ceasefire. 1400 Palestinian structures have been demolished just this year. "Impunity reinforces the occupation," he says.

Norway is heavily invested in the demolition of homes and schools.

The images are screenshots from the video from the West Bank.

Francesca Albanese writes in her report to the UN General Assembly on 2 July about Doosan:

"46. The Korean HD Hyundai and its partially owned subsidiary, Doosan, alongside the Swedish Volvo Group and other major heavy machinery manufacturers, have long been linked to the destruction of Palestinian property, each supplying equipment through exclusively licensed Israeli dealers.

For over a decade, HD Hyundai machinery has been used to demolish Palestinian homes and raze farmland, including olive groves. After October 2023, Israel increased the use of the equipment of those companies in the urban destruction of Gaza, including in flattening Rafah and Jabalia.

«47: These companies have continued supplying the Israeli market despite abundant evidence of the criminal use of this machinery by Israel and repeated calls from human rights groups to sever ties. Passive suppliers become deliberate contributors to a system of displacement."

The Oil Fund's investments in Doosan:

Doosan Enerbility Co LTD – parent company of Bobcat Inc., which produces the large construction machines: **4,992,695,294 NOK.**
Doosan Bobcat Inc.: **121,720,111 NOK.**

The Oil Fund's investments in the HD Hyundai Heavy Industries: **2,6 billion NOK**

In *Report about 20 non-Israeli companies – Appendix 9.*

When Israel commits its grotesque abuses against the Palestinians, and a company that supplies Israel with the necessary equipment is involved, the share price rises. The Fund's increased value in Israel's war suppliers over the past year has shown that the profits from the abuses are enormous (Appendix 9). When a Doosan excavator demolishing a primary school goes viral, the value of Doosan rises — and the Oil Fund's value rises along with it.

The school demolition is a crime. Deciding that Norway shall continue to invest in the company that assists Israel with this is also a crime.

9. Israel's crimes against the Palestinians continue unhindered

"The ceasefire according to Israel: You cease – I fire"

There is a ceasefire agreement in Gaza, but no ceasefire. The statement above is taken from Francesca Albanese's X account, and they are her words.

Israel has violated the ceasefire agreement and killed Palestinians every day since the ceasefire was supposed to take effect on 10 October. Israel resumed bombing on 19 October. Israel's ongoing crimes against humanity, war crimes, genocide and torture are described in Appendix 10: We survived the war, we may not survive the ceasefire.

On 7 November, a new report was published on the extensive torture in Israeli prisons, which the Norwegian doctor Mads Gilbert contributed to.

Israel's continued crimes imply the continued complicity of those reported, as no measures against Israel have been introduced, and with the vote in the Norwegian Parliament on 4 October – quite the opposite.

10. Reasons for prosecuting international crimes

The Rome Statute were incorporated into the Norwegian Penal Code in 2005, with the new Chapter 16 on international crimes. The Rome Statute is the legal foundation for the International Criminal Court (ICC). It establishes that individuals may be held criminally responsible for the most serious crimes – and for complicity in these crimes.

Norway was one of the first countries to ratify the Rome Statute. When it was introduced into Norwegian law, a new unit under Kripos was established on 1 January 2005, responsible for investigations: *The National Unit for Fighting Organised and Other Serious Crime (Kripos).* On 1 August the same year, *The National Authority for Prosecution of Organised and other Serious Crime (NAST)* was established, which would hold prosecutorial responsibility for these cases.

The responsibility for investigating and prosecuting international crimes was clearly placed with these two new units. The field of law was regarded by legislators and consultative bodies as extremely important for the nation, and for our reputation in the world.

The Rome Statute represented something new: the establishment of a permanent judicial body responsible for prosecuting individuals who had committed atrocities – and those who had contributed to the crimes. It also obligated countries that ratified it to investigate and prosecute offences in accordance with the Statutes.

The justifications for this criminal justice system are different from those for all other crime. The acts are so serious that failing to prosecute would constitute a great injustice – to the victims, but also to humanity. What is distinctive about these crimes is the cruelty of the acts and the enormous number of victims. The importance of prosecuting the presumed guilty was expressed in the Preamble to the Statute. The fight against impunity was a clear goal:

"– Mindful that during this century millions of children, women and men have been victims of unimaginable atrocities that **deeply shock the conscience of humanity**,

– Recognizing that such grave crimes threaten the peace, security and well-being of the world,

– Affirming that the most serious crimes of concern to the international community as a whole must not go unpunished

– Determined to put an end to impunity for the perpetrators of these crimes and thus to contribute to the prevention of such crimes."

In a 2013 master's thesis in criminology at the University in Oslo, on *«The philosophy of criminal law and the justifications for punishment for international crimes»*, several additional reasons are given: it creates a historical narrative of what happened, for the present and for posterity, and conveys an important message to victims, to perpetrators, and to others:

"Surviving victims, devastated by their own injuries and the deaths of many friends and relatives, must be vindicated; we must recognize and acknowledge how seriously they were

wronged and show an appropriate level of concern for them. Condemnation by the international community has the potential to be especially powerful. Formal acknowledgement of the moral status of the crime is thus seen to be important for victims, offenders, and others" (Golash 2010: 218).

In Gaza, 2.3 million people are victims. Every single Palestinian who has been locked inside Gaza for the past two years has been subjected to unimaginable suffering. All have experienced family and friends being killed or injured. Almost all have seen their homes reduced to rubble. The trauma they have experienced and continue to experience is beyond our comprehension.

The master's thesis also emphasises that prosecution of international crimes is essential for our own humanity as well as for our compassion for the victims:

"Impunity for international crimes and for systematic and widespread violations of fundamental human rights is a betrayal of our human solidarity with the victims of conflicts to whom we owe a duty of justice, remembrance and compensation. To remember and to bring perpetrators to justice ***is a duty we also owe to our own humanity."*** (Bassiouni, 1996: 27).

In addition to the victims in Gaza and to all Palestinians, this complaint will also take into account a group of "others" – as Golash refers to above. These are the many tens of thousands of Norwegians who have suffered, and continue to suffer, in deep compassion for the atrocities the civilian population of Gaza has had to endure – and continues to experience.

An additional heavy burden has been that our politicians have resisted every form of pressure, from a population that has written, demonstrated, shouted and shared, in the streets and in the press and on social media, the unanimous popular demand: that we do not want Norway to enrich itself on Israel's crimes against humanity. It is shameless, and it is morally reprehensible. It is also criminal and punishable.

Prosecuting those who contribute sends an important signal to the world. But it also has the practical consequence of stopping the criminal acts. This is an important consideration for the future, as prosecution for complicity will effectively prevent Norwegian politicians from continuing to make international crime their preferred policy.

Given the current balance of power in the world, there will be no foreseeable international reckoning with the primary perpetrators. All the more important, then, that each nation follows up the Rome Statute and its own national legislation by prosecuting those who have contributed to the genocide through moral, political, economic, and material support.

Eight out of ten Norwegians are completely opposed to Norwegian investments in the genocide. A major survey in May this year confirmed this. Pressure from organisations and other parties has been strong. Nothing has made our leading politicians listen. We are still Europe's largest investor in weapons companies that supply Israel's war industry. This is wholly contrary to our national interest. Profiting from genocide can never serve our country in any way.

What our top politicians are in reality doing is serving another country. They are favouring the interests of another state, entirely against our own, and against a clear popular will. When favouring another country over our own also constitutes a violation of the highest

international laws, those who do so must be stopped. And the only way to make our top politicians respect the law is to initiate an investigation.

The laws concerning international crimes are non-derogable (jus cogens rules). And they cannot be set aside even if the acts the accused have contributed to were to cease under a real ceasefire: a serial killer does not go free simply because he stops killing. Likewise, those who have contributed to crimes in Gaza remain responsible for what they have done over the past two years – a ceasefire does not absolve past acts.

That there is a ceasefire is, moreover, an illusion. Israel's crimes against Palestine continue with undiminished strength, as we show in Appendix 10.

With the non-derogable jus cogens rules also follows the duty to investigate. The Rome Statute states when a person becomes responsible for complicity:

"Article 25

Individual criminal responsibility

3. For the purpose of this Statute, a ***person shall be criminally responsible and liable for punishment*** *for a crime within the jurisdiction of the Court if that person:*

d: In any other way contributes to the commission *or attempted commission of such a crime by a group of persons acting with a common purpose. Such contribution shall be intentional and shall: Be made* ***with the knowledge of the intention*** *of the group to commit the crime."*

The Norwegian Prime Minister and the others reported are, like everyone else, aware of the Israeli government's genocidal intent, and that they are committing genocide. The investments and weapons deliveries take place with that knowledge.

In 2007, there was a hearing on the incorporation of the Rome Statute into Norwegian law that happened in 2005. The Norwegian Bar Association pointed out the need for training:

"With this implementation, a number of unfamiliar elements are introduced into Norwegian criminal law tradition, and this requires new knowledge among both judges and lawyers. A precondition for the effective enforcement of the new criminal provisions is therefore that all actors in the criminal justice system receive the necessary training. The Bar Association believes it must be ensured that ***all actors in these cases receive the necessary training****."*

Kripos refused to investigate on the grounds that this is a matter for the High Court of Impeachment – that it is not their responsibility to investigate leading politicians. This may indicate that the Bar Association's sound advice from 2007 has not been followed up, and that there is still a need for "all actors in these cases" to receive necessary training.

The training should clarify the duty to investigate, including when individuals high in society are involved. And perhaps especially them, in the words of the Rome Statute:

"Article 27

Irrelevance of official capacity

1. This Statute shall apply equally to all persons without any distinction based on official capacity. **In particular, official capacity as a Head of State or Government, a**

member of a Government or parliament, an elected representative or a government official **shall in no case exempt a person from criminal responsibility** under this Statute, nor shall it constitute, in itself, a ground for reduction of sentence.

2. Immunity or special procedural rules that may be attached to the official capacity of a person, whether under national or international law, shall not bar the Court from exercising its jurisdiction over such a person."

These rules are not directly incorporated into Chapter 16 of the Norwegian Penal Code, but they nonetheless underlie our criminal law enforcement, as Norway has ratified all articles of the Rome Statute – without any changes.

The above-mentioned master's thesis on the justification for punishment for international crimes also includes a chapter on various forms of sanctions (6.4.2). It is not the case that imprisonment is always the desired outcome, and the ICC also has the possibility of imposing fines. Extensive studies show that what victims most want in a judicial process is *truth* – an acknowledgment of what happened, and an apology, a form of restitution (6.4.3). The most important element in our case is not punishment, but that the crimes come to an end, that truth is established, and that laws are respected.

As a minimum, this will entail divestment from all investments in Israeli companies, and from all companies that support Israel's unlawful warfare and occupation of Palestine, as the UN calls for.

11. Calls for the prosecution of individuals for complicity in genocide

Call from Francesca Albanese, UN Special Rapporteur

On 28 October 2025, the UN Human Rights Council published Francesca Albanese's speech to the UN General Assembly delivered the same day.

In her most recent report on Israel's genocide and military occupation, she placed clear responsibility on Western states for their complicity. Her recommendations to member states were explicit:

"Excellencies and delegates, international law is clear. No state may aid or assist another committing international crimes. This is neither charity nor a matter of choice. It is binding upon you. It's a binding obligation and violating it risks complicity.

1. Therefore, states must secure a permanent ceasefire in Gaza, ensuring Israel's full withdrawal from all occupied Palestinian territory and the dismantlement of the settlements.

2. Second, suspend all military trade and diplomatic ties with Israel until it ends and remedies its genocide, unlawful occupation and apartheid.

3. And third, investigate, and where warranted, prosecute those potentially involved in these crimes."

Call from the Gaza Tribunal

The Gaza Tribunal is an independent international people's tribunal established by human rights lawyers to examine Israel's violations of law in Gaza after 7 October 2023.

The tribunal's president is Richard Falk, former UN Special Rapporteur for human rights in the occupied Palestinian territory from 2008 to 2014. The tribunal concludes that Israel is committing genocide in Gaza, and places significant responsibility on Western countries for complicity.

Excerpt from the tribunal's final declaration, 26 October:

Complicity and Collusion

«The jury finds Western governments, particularly the United States and others, complicit in and in some cases colluding with Israel's commission of genocide ***through the provision of diplomatic cover, weapons, weapon parts,*** *intelligence, military assistance, and training, and* ***continuing economic relations****. Such actions constitute moral failure and breach of their legal duty to prevent genocide and to cooperate to end the violation of a jus cogens norm of international law.*

1. Ending Impunity and Ensuring Accountability:

To hold all those responsible (politically, military, economically, and ideologically—perpetrators, supporters, enablers, and complicit parties) fully accountable by every lawful means and to the fullest extent of the law.»

Call from the UN Commission of Inquiry, 16 September 2025

The Commission concluded on 16 September that Israel is committing genocide in Gaza. The UN urges all member states to initiate investigation and prosecution of complicity. The Commission's chair, Navi Pillay, made clear that genocide imposes unequivocal obligations on the international community – all states are required to do everything within their power to stop the genocide:

"It is clear that there is an intent to destroy the Palestinians in Gaza through acts that meet the criteria set forth in the Genocide Convention. When clear signs and evidence of genocide emerge, ***the absence of action to stop it amounts to complicity****," said Pillay.*

In its report, the Commission urges member states to:

"(c) Ensure individuals and corporations in their territories and within their jurisdiction are not involved in the commission of genocide, ***aiding and assisting the commission of genocide*** *or incitement to commit genocide and* ***investigate and prosecute those who may be implicated in these crimes*** *under international law;*

(d) Facilitate the investigations and domestic proceedings and take action (including imposing sanctions) against the State of Israel and against individuals or corporations ***that are involved in or facilitating the commission of genocide*** *or incitement to commit genocide;*

(e) Cooperate with the investigation of the Office of the Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court."

12. Concluding remarks

Comment on the role of the Public Prosecutor's Office in 2009 – and later

Since 7 October 2023, Norwegian lawyers have again reported Israeli leaders for war crimes. Again, the complaints have been dismissed. The justification is more or less identical to that of 2009 – that the crimes were not committed in Norway, and that it is not worth the effort to investigate and prosecute people who will not appear before a Norwegian court.

This must stem from a misunderstanding of the Rome Statute and the obligations it imposes on nation states that have signed it.

War criminals can be tried and convicted without being physically present – *in absentia*. Had the Norwegian prosecuting authority, and several other countries' equivalent authorities, indicted and convicted the Israeli war criminals in 2009, and after every subsequent Israeli war of aggression, there is a possibility that the atrocities of the past two years could have been avoided.

NAST's earlier justification for dropping investigations was resource constraints; finding evidence would be very resource-intensive. That is not the case in ours. The evidence is forced into our faces daily. The Oil Fund's investments in companies supplying bombs and everything else to Israel are a constant violation of the public sense of justice. The fact that Nammo and Kongsberg components end up in companies supplying weapons to Israel is also not hidden. It appears in the companies' own promotional material and press releases.

A counterargument may be that divestment would run contrary to our national interests; the US might protest, perhaps even impose punitive tariffs. If that were a concern, the Oil Fund could have withdrawn from South Korean, Indian, German, British, French, and Italian weapons companies. Trump would likely never even have noticed.

But national security concerns can never justify complicity in genocide – no such exonerating principle exists in any legal system.

We borrow an excellent argument from "Forsvar Folkeretten" (Defend Internatinal Law) and the International Jurist's Commission Norway, when they asked for Kripos to initiate an investigation into the Israeli war criminals (p. 28):

"What happens in Norway with the complaint is naturally noted internationally. The question is whether the Norwegian prosecuting authority wishes to ***play on the team of justice*** *or the* ***team of impunity****. We believe that Norwegian police and prosecuting authorities have sufficient capacity to contribute constructively, and should do so."*

It is, of course, absolutely contrary to Norway's reputational interests internationally if Norwegian legal authorities continue to reject every investigation relating to Israel.The Norwegian Oil Fund has begun to acquire a very murky reputation internationally – precisely because of its extensive investments in Israel's war industry.

We have previously pointed out the unfortunate situation that those whom Kripos might investigate, and those whom the Prosecutor's Office might indict, are the same individuals who control the budget allocations and can influence the agencies' ability to do their job. One outcome of this case should be that Kripos and NAST receive earmarked funds through the

state budget, which cannot be removed after a change of government. And NAST should be the highest authority, with only the Supreme Court as an appeal body. The Director of Public Prosecutions who is now the appeal body, has strong ties to any sitting government. It cannot be expected that they remain entirely uninfluenced in a situation involving accusations against top politicians.

So now we hope that consideration for the general sense of justice, for humanity, for the victims, for those who suffer the most, for law, justice, and the responsibility entrusted to you, means something to the National Prosecuting Authority.

13. A final appeal

We who are filing this criminal complaint against the Labour Party leaders and Vedum are civilians without legal expertise. Since the most serious cases fall under public prosecution, we trust that the National Prosecutor's Office will fill in the necessary legal rules and grounds for jurisdiction where we fall short, and that a possible dismissal will not be based on our failure to cite the correct paragraphs.

If such systemic breaches of the world's highest laws as those we have described in this report are allowed to go unpunished, it would also constitute a breach of the social contract that exists between voters and the elected. If the nation's top leaders want the civilian population to remain largely law-abiding, because that is a good thing for a society, then the least we may demand in return is that they respect laws themselves. And at the very least that they do not neglect the highest laws so blatantly, and openly demonstrate their contempt, showing that the laws do not apply to them. It does not turn the population into lawless citizens overnight, but it does something to a society that no one yet has any insight into. Being led by lawless leaders must have consequences we cannot yet envision – neither in Norway nor in other countries.

Our gigantic investments in Israel's occupation and genocide industry are a national shame we all must share. It is a moral sludge in our country, which the Labour Party leaders force us to wade knee-deep in.

This complaint takes into account the view of eighty percent of Norwegians. We repeat Bassiouni's words:

"To remember and to bring perpetrators to justice is a duty we also owe to our own humanity." (Bassiouni, 1996: 27).

Consideration for *humanity* is also explicitly mentioned in the preamble to the Rome Statute as a justification for punishment, where it states that these are:

"unimaginable atrocities that deeply shock the conscience of humanity."

When humanity is shocked by the gravest crimes in our shared history, it is because the knowledge of right and wrong is embedded in our human conscience. Millions of people across the globe are horrified by the mass murder of entirely innocent people, by the grotesque acts, topped by a state-orchestrated famine. Millions feel the same helplessness in a world led by a small group of lawless individuals who have stripped us of all justice. State leaders who stand up against the madness and the evil are the exceptions.

We are struck even harder when we must witness impunity for the gravest acts, and experience the international legal system decaying before our eyes. The laws created to prevent impunity for the most serious crimes exist for the victims – and for us. *Humanity* is we who empathise with the victims, we who are horrified day and night by the atrocious acts, we who have not slept peacefully for over two years, we who twist in discomfort just by opening our own phones. We too are victims of these crimes. One hears of more and more people developing psychological problems, struggling to function in daily life and at work, burdened by the knowledge of the injustice inflicted on Palestinians every day.

We want our sense of safety and our quality of life back – our *security and well-being*, as the preamble says. It may take a long time, since the genocide and horrific abuses continue daily. But it could have helped somewhat if we had been able to witness a little law enforcement – a bit of justice.

If the Norwegian legal system were to take the Rome Statute and the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide seriously, it would necessarily mean that the Labour Party's crimes would have to end: it would entail divestment from the companies that violate international law. The fact that 85 elected representatives have voted for it does not make it right or lawful – it means that each and every one of them should have been investigated and fined, with public prosecution.

A divestment carried out by our gigantic fund, from some of the world's most powerful weapons manufacturers, would have sent shockwaves around the world. For all would have understood that any country's political leaders could be the next to be indicted. And the next after that. The effect might have been exactly what the Convention intended: to prevent genocide. The political leaders who today support Israel in exactly the same ways as ours do, would very soon have withdrawn their support for Israel. They would have realised that there are still some who respect the law – namely those who have been given the responsibility and the authority to enforce it.

What the Public Prosecutor's Office holds in its hands right now is nothing less than the power to help something begin to move in the right direction. There is nothing happening anywhere in the world that is more important than what you are doing right now. If our state leaders gained the status of "charged", or even «indicted» - it could have contributed to a real ceasefire in Gaza. It could have helped Palestinians keep their homes and houses and schools - and their lives. It could have been the seed of a better future.

Drammen/Kongsberg, 10 November 2025
Grandmothers Against Genocide

Marianne Bergvall	Kirsti Mæhle
Co-founder	Co-founder